

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6308
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NICOSIA 2152

LIMDIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS: DIA WASHDC; USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN; USDOCOSOUTH
NAPLES IT; USNMR SHAPE BEL

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, PINT, CY
SUBJECT: IMPLICATIONS OF INTERIM PRESIDENCY OF KYPRIANOU

REF: NICOSIA 2133 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: IN ACCEPTING SPYROS KYPRIANOU AS CONSENSUS
CANDIDATE FOR INTERIM PRESIDENT, GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERS AND
PEOPLE DISPLAYED SIGNIFICANT DEGREE OF UNITY WHICH IS FURTHER
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GUARANTEE AGAINST ANY BREAKDOWN IN PUBLIC ORDER (THE OTHER
BEING THE TIGHT CONTROL OF MAINLAND-OFFICERED NATIONAL GUARD).
KYPRIANOU RETAINED SHORT-TERM POWER BY HOLDING ON TO LEFTIST
SUPPORT WHILE OBTAINING A DEGREE OF GRUDGING ACCEPTANCE
FROM THE RIGHT BY PROJECTING HIMSELF AS THE CANDIDATE OF
CONTINUITY, UNITY, AND LEGITIMACY. GIVEN HIS CENTRAL
OBJECTIVE OF REELECTION IN FEBRUARY, HE WILL WANT TO

AVOID OFFENDING ANY OF THESE FACTIONS BY TAKING ANY IMPORTANT DECISIONS WHICH CAN BE POSTPONED BEYOND FEBRUARY. WE DOUBT HE WILL BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE SERIOUS DEPARTURES FROM PRESENT FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC POLICIES IN THE NEXT FIVE OR SIX MONTHS, OR THAT HE WILL BE ABLE TO RESPOND IN MEANINGFUL TO INITIATIVES, IF ANY, ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. END SUMMARY

2. WHILE EMBASSY HAS SCRUPULOUSLY AVOIDED CONTACTS OF THE KIND WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN INTERPRETED AS INDICATING SUPPORT FOR ANY POTENTIAL CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED MAKARIOS, WE CAN NEVERTHELESS FORM A FAIRLY CLEAR PICTURE OF HOW KYPRIANOU MANAGED TO SECURE HIS POSITION AS INTERIM PRESIDENT, AND ANALYZE SOME OF THE IMPLICATIONS. WE WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUARDED IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH GREEK CYPRIOT POLITICAL FIGURES BUT WE WILL ALSO SEEK TO KEEP THE DEPARTMENT FULLY ABREAST OF DEVELOPMENTS LEADING UP TO THE FEBRUARY CONTEST FOR THE FULL-TERM PRESIDENCY.

3. SECURING AN UNOPPOSED CANDIDACY. KYPRIANOU HAD SEVERAL ADVANTAGES IN HIS BID TO BE ACCEPTED AS MAKARIOS' IMMEDIATE SUCCESSOR, THE MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH WERE VOTING POWER, AN AIR OF LEGITIMACY, AND A DESIRE FOR UNITY AND CONTINUITY AMONG GREEK CYPRIOT LEADERS AND CONSTITUENTS.

(A) POWER. THE RIGHT WAS DISORGANIZED AND UNPREPARED
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TO MOUNT A SERIOUS THREAT IN A SEPTEMBER ELECTION AGAINST A UNITED FRONT OF KYPRIANOU'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP), COMMUNIST AKEL, AND LEFTIST EDEK. THE ONLY SERIOUS CONTENDER ON THE RIGHT, CLERIDES' DEMOCRATIC RALLY, DID POORLY IN LAST YEAR'S PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, WINNING 25-30 PERCENT OF THE VOTE BUT NOT A SINGLE SEAT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. THE "POPULAR FRONT" OF THE DP, AKEL, EDEK, AND ONE INDEPENDENT, WHICH WAS KNOWN TO THE VOTERS TO BE MAKARIOS' CREATION, WON ALL 35 SEATS. WHILE CLERIDES MIGHT HAVE FARED SLIGHTLY BETTER IN ELECTIONS NOW, WHEN HE WOULD NOT BEAR THE STIGMA OF BEING AGAINST MAKARIOS, HE WOULD HAVE HAD LITTLE HOPE OF WINNING AN ELECTION OUTRIGHT, ESPECIALLY AS THE FRONT AND ITS CANDIDATE, KYPRIANOU, WERE THE APPARENT INHERITORS OF MAKARIOS' MANTLE, AND COULD CONSERVABLY CONTROL AS MUCH AS 65 PERCENT OF THE ELECTORATE.

(B) LEGITIMACY. KYPRIANOU COULD LAY A CLAIM, WITH CONSIDERABLE JUSTICE, TO BEING AT LEAST THE INTERIM LEGITIMATE HEIR OF MAKARIOS. AS PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, HE BECAME ACTING PRESIDENT ON MAKARIOS' DEATH UNDER PROVISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION. FURTHERMORE, HE IS A DURABLE (IF SCANTLY ADMIRED) PUBLIC FIGURE, HAVING SERVED AS FOREIGN MINISTER

FOR 12 YEARS, AND HAVING BEEN THE FIGUREHEAD WINNER OF THE IMPRESSIVE MAKARIOS-ENGINEERED VICTORY IN LAST YEAR'S PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS. DURING HIS TERM AS PRESIDENT OF THE HOUSE HE ASSIDUOUSLY PROMOTED HIMSELF AS THE SECOND-RANKING MEMBER OF THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH HIGHLY PUBLICIZED MEETINGS WITH FOREIGN VISITORS AND AMBASSADORS, MANY PUBLIC POLICY STATEMENTS, A WELL-ADVERTISED VISIT TO THE U.S., ETC.

NOTE BY OC/T: NOT PASSED TO USCINCEUR, USDOCOSOUTH, OR USNMR SHAPE.

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6309

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

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BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

(C) UNITY AND CONTINUITY. A REAL DESIRE FOR UNITY AND CONTINUITY WAS DISCERNABLE AMONG GREEK CYPRIOTS; THERE WAS A PERVASIVE FEELING THAT THIS WAS NO TIME FOR DIVISIVENESS. THE SHOCK OF MAKARIOS' DEATH WAS FRESH, AND ANY POLITICAL LEADER WHO CHOSE TO CONTEST A BY-ELECTION SO SOON AFTER THE DEATH WOULD HAVE RUN THE RISK OF BEING TAGGED AS THE CANDIDATE OF DISUNITY. THIS FACTOR WAS ESPECIALLY PERSUASIVE

AS IT BECAME APPARENT THAT A CONTESTED BY-ELECTION WOULD HAVE TO BE FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER HARD-FOUGHT ELECTION IN FEBRUARY. THE FACT THAT, UNDER CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSES, CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SEPTEMBER WINNER CAN SERVE ONLY UNTIL FEBRUARY, 1978, WHEN REGULAR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION MUST BE HELD, WAS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR CONTRIBUTING TO WILLINGNESS OF CLERIDES AND OTHER TO ACQUIESCE IN NO CONTEST NOW. (CLERIDES PROPOSAL TO HAVE A "SUBSTANTIVE" ELECTION IN SEPTEMBER AND AN UNCONTESTED FEBRUARY ELECTION NEVER WON SUPPORT OUTSIDE HIS OWN PARTY.)

4. KYPRIANOU'S LIABILITIES. KYPRIANOU'S SUCCESS IN HOLDING ON TO THE INTERIM PRESIDENCY SHOULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS INDICATION THAT HE WILL NECESSARILY BE IN AS STRONG A POSITION TO RUN FOR PRESIDENCY IN FEBRUARY. CURRENTLY, HE RECEIVES UNITED SUPPORT FROM LEFT PARTLY BY DEFAULT, AS NO OTHER VIABLE CONDDATE COMMENDS HIMSELF TO EDEK OR AKEL, AND PARTLY BECAUSE THEY VIEW HIM AS THE POLITICAL FIGURE MOST AMENABLE TO THEIR INTERESTS AND INFLUENCE. THESE FORCES OF THE LEFT REPORTEDLY HAVE RESERVATIONS REGARDING KYPRIANOU'S LACK OF CHARISMA, LACK OF LEADERSHIP ABILITY, AND ESPECIALLY HIS POOR HEALTH. THEY COULD SHIFT THEIR SUPPORT IN FEBRUARY TO AN INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE LIKE PASCALIS PASCALIDES. (WE UNDERSTAND THE CLINICAL DIAGNOSIS OF KYPRIANOU'S CONDITION IS "STRESS ANGINA", WHICH SERIOUSLY INCAPACITATES HIM WHEN HE IS EXPOSED TO PRESSURE.) ON THE RIGHT, KYPRIANOU HAS OBTAINED GRUDGING ACCEPTANCE RATHER THAN SUPPORT. PAPADOPOULOS AND CLERIDES MADE IT CLEAR THEY WOULD HAVE PREFERRED ANOTHER MAN AS INTERIM PRESIDENT AND ARE ONLY BIDDING TIME UNTIL ELECTIONS FOR A FULL-TERM PRESIDENT IN FEBRUARY. THE RIGHT LOOKS UPON INTERIM PERIOD AS OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD UNITY BEHIND SINGLE CANDIDATE, IF ONE CAN BE AGREED ON, WHO HOPEFULLY CAN DRAW SUPPORT AWAY FROM KYPRIANOU. NEVERTHELESS, KYPRIANOU'S CHANCES FOR A FULL TERM MUST BE CONSIDERED TO BE MARGINLLY STRENGTHENED FOR THE MOMENT, ESPECIALLY IF, AS WE EXPECT, HE RECEIVES SUPPORT OF ACTING ARCHBISHOP CHRYSOSTOMOS, WHO MIGHT BE ABLE TO SWING CHURCH CONFIDENTIAL

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AND WOMEN'S VOTE VEHIND KYPRIANOU.

5. SIGNIFICANCE IN DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. IMPLICATIONS OF KYPRIANOU'S CONTINUANCE IN OFFICE FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS IS FOR LITTLE SIGNIFICANT CHANGE. HE IS NATURALLY CAUTIOUS, INCLINED TO TAKE ADVICE, OR PRETEND TO, ESPECIALLY FROM

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, AND, AS NOTED ABOVE, WILL BE HESITANT TO OFFEND ANY FACTION BY MAKING CONTROVERSIAL DECISIONS. THEREFORE HE WILL BE INCLINED TO RETAIN THE PRESENT GROUP OF MINISTERS. FOREIGN MINISTER CHRISTOPHIDES, WHO THREATENED TO RESIGN RATHER THAN SERVE UNDER KYPRIANOU (NICOSIA 2095), IS LIKELY, WE THINK, TO RECONSIDER. ANY IMPORTANT CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT BELOW MINISTERIAL RANK ARE ALSO UNLIKELY WITH THE EXCEPTION THAT KYPRIANOU MIGHT MAKE SOME SYMBOLIC REVISIONS TO OVERCOME CHARGES THAT HE IS AN INDECISIVE ADMINISTRATOR. HE MIGHT ALSO MAKE A LIMITED CONCESSION TO AKEL/EDEK PRESSURE FOR A PURGE OF "COUPIST ELEMENTS" FROM THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

6. SIGNIFICANCE IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS. JUDGING BY HIS RECORD AS FOREIGN MINISTER AND AFTERWARDS, KYPRIANOU HAS A PENCHANT FOR CATCHY, THIRD-WORLD SLOGANS; HE STRESSES THEMES SUCH AS IDENTITY WITH THE NON-ALIGNED, ANTI-IMPERIALISM, AND FRIENDSHIP FOR THE SOCIALIST BLOC. BUT HE IS ALSO SHREWD ENOUGH TO RECOGNIZE THAT MOST CYPRIOTS PLACE THEIR FAITH IN THE U.S. IN TERMS OF A CYPRUS SOLUTION. HE PROBABLY WILL TRY TO RIDE BOTH HORSES, BEING CAREFUL NOT TO APPEAR HOSTILE TO THE U.S. OR TO U.S. EFFORTS TO CONTRIBUTE TO A SOLUTION. HE WILL PURSUE THE OPTION OF RECOURSE TO THE U.N. AS A CONTINUANCE OF MAKARIOS' POLICIES (NICOSIA 1826) AND IS LIKELY CONCURRENTLY TO PUSH FOR AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CYPRUS. WITH REGARD TO INTERCOMMUNAL DISCUSSINS, KYPRIANOU HAS SUPPORTED LINE OF NEGOTIATOR PAPADOPOULOS THAT GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT PROPOSALS TO TURKS WHO NOW MUST RESPOND IN CONSTRUCTIVE WAY. HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO MAINTAIN APPEARANCE OF SUPPORTING NEGOTIATIONS IN PRINCIPLE, BUT IN REALITY HE WILL BE IN NO POSITION TO RESPOND TO
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TURKISH FLEXIBILITY SHOULD ANY MATERIALIZE. HE WILL BE LOOKING AHEAD TO FEBRUARY ELECTION WHEN HE CAN PLEAD FOR FULL PRESIDENTIAL MANDATE TO RESOLVE THE PROBLEM, BUT, AT LEAST UNTIL THEN, HE WILL AVOID THE BOLD STROKE.

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 6310

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

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BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

7. TURKISH ATTITUDES. TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERS HAVE MADE IT
EMPHATICALLY CLEAR THAT ANYONE WHO CLAIMS TO SUCCEED
MAKARIOS CANNOT BE CONSIDERED AS ANYTHING MORE THAN LEADER
OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT COMMUNITY. THEY DO NOT LIKE ANY OF
THE POTENTIAL SUCCESSORS, AND KYPRIANOU LEAST OF ALL. WE
ASSUME THIS ATTITUDE IS SHARED BY GOT OFFICIALS, AND, IN
COMBINATION WITH INERTIAL FORCES ACTING ON KYPRIANOU,
MILITATES AGAINST ANY EARLY PROGRESS IN INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

8. ATTITUDE OF GREECE. LIKE THE U.S., GREECE HAS, AT LEAST
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PUBLICLY, MAINTAINED SCRUPULOUS NEUTRALITY AND NON-INVOLVE-
MENT IN THE SELECTION OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR. GOG HAS
EMPHASIZED THEMES OF UNITY AND SOLIDARITY. NEVERTHE-
LESS, WE UNDERSTAND THAT KYPRIANOU HAS NOT ENDEARED HIMSELF
TO MAINLAND GREEK REGIMES, AND HE HAS PRIVATELY BUT FREQUENTLY
REFERRED TO GREEKS THERE AS BUMBLING AND UNHELPFUL IN
THEIR PAST INTRUSIONS IN CYPRUS. BY HIS OWN ACCOUNT, HE
WAS FORCED TO RESIGN AS FOREIGN MINISTER IN 1972 BECAUSE
OF PRESSURE FROM THE ATHENS JUNTA. WHILE THIS, IF TRUE,
PRESUMABLY WOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED DAMNING BY CURRENT GOG,
WE ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT PRESENT-DAY OFFICIALS HAVE SERIOUS

RESERVATIONS ABOUT KYPRIANOU'S PROBITY, LEADERSHIP ABILITY, AND RELIANCE ON COMMUNIST SUPPORT. KYPRIANOU HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL MAKE AN EARLY TRIP TO ATHENS, WHICH IS DESIGNED TO OVERCOME THIS LIABILITY AND EXTRACT GOG EXPRESSIONS OF UNQUALIFIED SUPPORT.

9. KYPRIANOU'S PERSONALITY. THE SALIENT ASPECT OF KYPRIANOU'S PUBLIC PERSONALITY IS HIS INABILITY TO INSPIRE RESPECT, CONFIDENCE, OR FONDNESS IN OTHERS. ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION, LEADERS ON THE RIGHT DISLIKE HIM AND THOSE ON THE LEFT ONLY TOLERATE HIM. THAT THE WHOLE POLITICAL SPECTRUM HAS BROUGHT ITSELF TO ACCEPT HIS AS CONSENSUS INTERIM PRESIDENT PROBABLY INDICATES THAT, RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, NONE OF THE FACTIONS FEAR HIM AS A LONG TERM COMPETITOR. POSSIBLY THEY MISJUDGE HIS CAPACITY FOR SURVIVAL THROUGH INTRIGUE.

10. WE WOULD BE INTERESTED IN ANY INSIGHTS AVAILABLE TO EMBASSY ATHENS AS TO THE GREEK REACTION TO KYPRIANOU'S UNCONTESTED NOMINATION AS INTERIM PRESIDENT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS, AS WELL AS COMMENTS FROM EMBASSY ANKARA REFLECTING GOT'S INNER VIEWS.
CRAWFORD

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